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Work and Training Release

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Work and Training Release In Washington

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SUMMARY

Work and training release is intended to promote the successful reentry into society of persons being released from prison by providing: 1) vocational training, work experience or academic training to improve employability and 2) supervision during the transition period to help the releasees make a good start while ensuring public safety. The purpose of this study is to determine to what extent the Work and Training Release Program in Washington State has been meeting these goals.

To test the effect of work release on parole outcome, comparisons were made between the parole success rates of work releasees and a control group of those who had been approved for but did not participate in work release from July 1, 1971 through June 30, 1973. Most comparisons between these groups were made between subgroups stratified by parole base expectancy scores. These comparisons indicate that work release participation is associated with parole success for certain kinds of offenders but it does not appear to affect parole outcome for other offender subgroups. Participation does not adversely affect parole outcomes for any segment of the offender population. In virtually all factors used for comparisons, the work release group performed better, though not always at statistically significant levels. In several comparisons, work release success rates were approximately ten percent higher than for nonparticipants, increasing success rates from 60-65% to 70-75%.

The offenders that seemed to benefit most from participation in the work release program were those convicted of property related crimes. The parole success rates of nonproperty offenders did not seem affected by work release. The benefits of participation for property offenders were reaffirmed

by significant positive correlations between work release participation and parole success for persons in the two lower base expectancy score strata and for recommitments; both of these groups include a preponderance of property offenders. First offenders and persons with "high" base expectancy scores did not appear to benefit, in terms of recidivism rates, from work release.

Persons on public assistance at the time of arrest demonstrated significantly better parole outcomes after going through work release. This group is also over-represented by property offenders.

Other demographic characteristics tested included age, race, and highest grade completed in school. No significant relationships were found for these variables.

Persons with a history of drug abuse who participated in work release manifested significantly better parole outcomes than those who did not. A similar trend was found for persons with a history of alcohol abuse but the relationship did not quite attain statistical significance.

Variables related more to the program than to individual characteristics when tested. First, successful completion of a work release program was found to be predictive of parole success. This relationship held for both work programs and training programs. It also held for both "inside" (those housed at a state correctional institution) and "outside" (those housed in community-based facilities) work release programs. Successful completion of an outside work release program proved to have the greater predictive power. There was a tendency among outside facilities for smaller facilities to produce better parole outcomes. Length of stay on work release did not significantly relate to parole outcome, but persons on work release four-to-six months did somewhat better than persons on work release for either shorter or longer periods of time. Work release failures did no worse on parole

than did nonwork releasees.

The available data suggests that work release is cost effective when compared to institutionalization; however, a follow-up analysis of a later period in which data are much more complete is needed before assertions can be made about the cost-effectiveness of work release.

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INTRODUCTION

The first Work/Training Release Program for Washington State adult felons was authorized by the State Legislature pursuant to the 1967 Work Release Law. This legislation enabled adult correctional authorities to approve work release or training release plans for persons confined to adult correctional institutions. Such plans involve the release from full-time institutional supervision of selected felony prisoners for the purpose of working at paid employment and/or participating in an academic or vocational training program. Persons involved in release programs are confined in a state correctional institution inside work release, an approved county or city jail or other supervised facility outside work release during all non-work training hours.

The person is considered to be on work release if he in on the job either as a regular employee or as a salaried trainee. If the individual is attending a college or vocational school or is in a training capacity without salary, he is deemed to be on training release. Some persons may hold a job and at the same time attend college. In such cases, the individual is labeled as a work releasee or training releasee depending on whichever activity predominates.

During the period of this study, placement on work/training release was to a considerable degree a self-selection process. Typically the prisoner made his own contacts with potential employers or educational programs. Such contacts were usually made before the inmate was declared eligible for work release, 1/ so that some risk was involved. Some inmates were discouraged

 $[\]frac{1}{The}$ term "work release" will be used in the generic sense in this report to refer to either a work or a training program.

from the application process by doubts of their being declared eligible or by further doubts that an employer would hold a job open long enough for work release approval to be processed, approved, and placement effected. In fact, as far as we can discern, a considerable portion of the control group (who were approved for but never placed on work release) lost their prospective programs because of the length and tentativeness of the approval process. Such extraneous factors, rather than individual differences, appear to distinguish between the control and experimental groups. It should be noted that since the time of the study, the approval process has been greatly streamlined.

Selection criteria for work release placement included considerations such as type of offense and special notoriety; but mainly, each work release applicant was accepted or denied on the basis of his individual situation. One primary consideration for all applicants was the amount of time left to serve. One year was usually the maximum.

The reason for the emphasis on the work releasees having minimal time left to serve was the expectation that the great majority would be paroled directly from their work release program. To give a prisoner a taste of freedom on work release and expect him subsequently to return to an institution would be inviting escape or behavior problems after return to the institution.

The inside work release program, in which the releasee is housed in a minimum security portion of one of the major institutions, is administered by the Division of Adult Corrections. The office of Probation and Parole conducts the outside work release programs, residents of which live in an approved facility in the various communities. The hours of absence each day of participation for the inside work releasee are about all that distinguish his situation from that of other minimum custody residents at an

institution. Outside work releasees, although required to be at the facility when not participating in their programs, generally have considerable freedom to do errands, with varying supervision, or to go on numerous outings with approved personal sponsors. Frequent furloughs (e.g. weekends) often accrue to the outside work releasee.

Persons participating in educational, vocational, or other non-salaried activities are eligible for certain kinds of financial assistance such as that provided by the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation, The Manpower Development and Training Act or the G.I. Bill.

After taxes and other typical payroll deductions are paid, monies earned by releasees holding salaried employment are turned over to adult correctional authorities. Out of these funds, the resident pays room and board and contributes to the support of his dependents. He may, in addition, pay restitution or payments to creditors. Remaining funds (except a personal-incidentals sum) are deposited in the participant's personal account until his parole or discharge.

All references in this paper to work and training releases refer only to those persons released from Washington State Adult Correctional Institutions and do not include misdemeanants, federal prisoners, or probationers who might have participated in the program.

The focus of this paper will be to identify those subgroups of the prisoner population who, in terms of their subsequent parole-success record, appear to have benefited most from participation in a work or training release program. It was never anticipated that the work release program would ensure parole success for all of its participants. However, underlying the program is the expectation that opportunities provided by the work release program will, in a significant number of cases, help participants

become involved in legitimate occupational activities and avoid unlawful ones.

A review of the literature reveals somewhat conflicting results. Both North Carolina and Michigan reported successful results from work release, as measured by the incidence of recidivism. Pennsylvania reports that their Community Treatment Services Program, which is a work-release type of program with additional treatment services, "...shows a dramatic drop in the commission and conviction of new crimes..." for their residents in comparison with persons paroled directly from institutions. In California, the Santa Clara County Work Furlough Program reported reduced recidivism when work furloughees were matched on several criteria with a group of non-program parolees. However, a subsequent statewide California study questions any benefical effects of work release participation upon subsequent parole behavior. This study asserts that work release "...does not reduce state expenditures;... increased time served in prison for the program's participants; ... " and "...since it 'tests' prisoner behavior on different bases than parole, may represent a poor predictor of parole behavior." (Bass, 1975) The first recommendation of this California study was to consider eliminating the program as it existed at the time of the study (fiscal years 1969 and 1970).

Such diversity in results form work release studies might well be expected because each study takes a different approach to different study groups participating in different programs. There is no standardized approach to the evaluation of work release. Offender populations of various states cannot be assumed to be homogeneous; and the work release subpopulations are selected by divergent criteria. The various programs are administered in different ways by people of varying backgrounds and values. All of these factors combine to produce results that are difficult to generalize beyond the study populations.

Rather than attempt to reconcile these differences, the task of this study will be to present an evaluation specific to the work release program as it has affected the prison population in Washington State. $\frac{1}{}$ /

½ See also: Washington State Prisoners Work Release Program: An Evaluation, a master's thesis, Western Washington State College, July, 1974, by Christine E. Gowdey. Ms. Gowdey discusses success within the program itself and the criteria for selecting work releases. Neither aspect is an issue in this study. The DSHS Interim Report previously cited also discusses work release program success/failure.

SUBJECTS

The subjects for this study include all persons who either participated in the work/training release program or who were approved for but did not actually participate in the program between July 1, 1971, and June 30, 1973, and who were subsequently paroled. By comparing the work release group with the group that had also been approved for work release (rather than comparing them with the general resident population), the effect of any criteria in the selection process itself would tend to make those approved for work release different from the general resident population minimal. There should be no consistent bias between the experimental and control groups as selected — an assertion that could not have been made had the control group been chosen at random from the total population.

There were 975 in the experimental group (those who participated in work/training release) and 186 in the comparison group. (These totals will not appear in all comparisons because some data items were either not reported or unreliable.)

Most of the intergroup comparisons do not involve either entire group. Instead, most comparisons are made of groups. The experimental and control groups were stratified on the basis of scores derived from the 1974

Washington State Parole Base Expectancy Study. This study developed a scoring technique for predicting the likelihood of parole success for each person. The higher the score, the better the outlook. The base expectancy (B.E.) scores employ the five items found most predictive of parole success: "...1) whether the parolee was married and/or had one or more dependents; 2) whether the crime for which the present sentence in being served was a property offense; 3) whether the parolee has difficulty with

alcohol and/or if alcohol was in some way connected with the crime for which the present sentence is being served; 4) whether the parolee has been committed to an institution as a juvenile; and 5) the number of technical violations during the last period of community supervision." The first item correlated positively with parole success; the remaining four correlated negatively.

Items were tested using stepwise multiple regression techniques and, on the basis of these techniques, were analysed using two separate definitions of failure and three separate follow-up periods. Of the several equations developed in the Parole Base Expectancy Study, the one using Definition $B,\frac{2}{}$ with twelve-months follow up was selected for use in the present study. Utilizing this definition, the range of B.E. scores was from .824 down to .405.

The distribution of B.E. scores over the range lent itself well to stratification into a trichotomy as follows: "high," .715 - .824; "medium" .537 - .654; "low," .405 - .474. No scores fell into the interstices between these categories. Comparison of the scores of the experimental and control groups indicated that the two groups do not differ significantly in regard to their B.E. score distributions, the resulting chi square of 4.618 not reaching the .05 level of significance. Table I shows this comparison.

Comparison of the means of the base-expectancy score distributions further revealed the similarity of the two groups on the variable with a means of .611 for the experimental group and a mean of .591 for the controls.

^{1/}DSHS 1974.

^{2/}See appendix A, page 43.

TABLE 1: COMPARISON OF BASE EXPECTANCY SCORE DISTRIBUTIONS BETWEEN WORK RELEASES AND NONWORK RELEASE CONTROL GROUP $^{1/}$

	Work Re	leasees	Non-Work	Releasees
B.E. Level	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	973	100.0	186	100.0
High	268	27.5	46	24.7
Medium	463	47.6	80	43.0
Low	242	24.9	60	32.3

 $[\]frac{1}{}^{\prime}{\rm The}$ 4.618 chi square resulting from this distribution of scores was not statistically significant.

METHODS

The primary data base for this Work Release Evaluation Project has been a special work release computer tape (the construction of which was made possible through the funding of LEAA Grant No. 434). This data base consists of the items which form the primary and summary files of both the resident and nonresident portions of the DSHS population system. The primary and summary records of only the subjects for this study were duplicated and stored on the separate work release tape.

An additional documentary source of information, pertaining to each persons's work release activities, was needed. The Work and Training Program Summary Report, was developed for this purpose. This report includes information regarding the type of release program, earnings and other financial data, and reasons for termination from the program.

Considerable difficulty was encountered in the attempt to gather complete data for all of the work release subjects. Even trips by project personnel to the various record offices to glean the data from other documents did not produce all of the desired information. Records for the period covered by this project were not as rigorously kept then as they have been subsequently. In addition, some collected information was lost when the central collection point was moved.

The incompleteness of data has restricted the scope of this project. Further restriction has been imposed by obvious unreliability in some of the Termination Reports items. Where reporting was unclear, items were included only if examination of a file dump made clear what the reported item should be. Items which could not be resolved, as well as unreported

items, are not included in this study. Where the data are not reliable, conclusions and predictions are withheld.

Because the data for this study are all nominal (e.g., person offenders vs. property offenders) or ordinal (e.g., "high" and "low" B.E. scores), the primary statistic employed in the evaluation of both intergroup and intragroup relationships is the chi square test of significance.

The criteria against which the variable utilized in this study were measured were success and failure on parole. One of the prime justifications for the work release program is that it better prepares the parolee to adjust acceptably to society by providing him with necessary workrelated skills and/or by serving as a transition between the highly structured prison regimen and the "free" life. The most generally accepted test of these assumptions is whether work releasees have a lower rate of recidivism than a similar group of parolees who have not participated in work/training release. For purposes of this study, the definition of parole success was: Parolee did not return to an adult correctional institution, abscond, or die during the follow-up period. The follow-up period is defined as the time between the person's parole or discharge (within the period July, 1971 and June, 1973) and the cutoff date, August 31, 1976. Thus, the follow-up period varies from person to person. The follow-up period did not differ significantly between the control and experimental groups. Comparison of the distribution of parole dates yielded a chi square value .90. Persons who were returned to an institution or absconded are regarded as failures; deaths are deleted.

RESULTS

Overall Comparisons:

The first relationship examined parole outcomes for the entire work release and control groups. The resulting chi square of 5.757, significant at the .02 level, indicates a superior overall outcome for the work release group. Caution must be exerted in attributing the superiority of the work release group to their participation in the program because the work releasees tended to have higher base-expectancy scores than the controls. Although this difference in B.E. scores did not attain statistical significance (.05 level), the 4.618 chi square value does exceed the .10 level, and certainly indicates an important trend. To control for this trend, comparisons were made of the subgroups, stratified on B.E. scores, as explained in the methods section. When so compared, the "highs" showed no significant difference, with a chi square value of 0.043. For those in the "medium" category, the 2.101 chi square did not quite reach the .10 level; for the "lows," the 2.846 chi square exceeded .10 but did not attain the .05 level. However, when the "medium" and "low" groups were combined, the resulting 6.100 chi square value was statistically significant beyond the .02 level, with the work release group showing a higher rate of success on parole.

It should also be noted that the percentage of success was higher for work release than for nonparticipants at all B.E. levels, whether or not these differences achieved statistical significance. For persons with high B.E. scores, success of work releasees exceeded nonparticipants by only three percent, a difference small enough to be easily attributable to chance variation. For medium and low B.E. groups, work releasees had

eleven percent greater success, and for persons with low B.E. scores, the difference was thirteen percent. Overall parole success of work releasees was nine percent greater than nonwork releasees. See Table 2 for these comparisons.

Offense:

The second group of relationships explored involved type of offense. The trichotomy typically employed in analyses by offense was adopted for this study. This trichotomy subsumes the general categories of "person-related" crimes, "property-related" crimes, and a residual category of "other" crimes. The person crimes are murder, manslaughter, robbery, assault, rape, carnal knowledge, and indecent liberties. Property crimes include burglary, larceny, auto theft, and forgery. A great diversity of offenses makes up the "other" classification of which narcotic offenses as a group constitute the modal category.

The work releasees and nonwork releasees who were serving time for person-related offenses were nearly identical in regard to parole outcome, the chi square test yielding only a miniscule 0.00002 value. (See Table 3.) Parole outcomes for persons who had been incarcerated for offenses in the "other" category also were not significantly different for the experimental and control groups. The chi square value for this group of offenders was 0.545.

For property offenders, however, the difference in parole outcomes, yielding a chi square value of 4.378, was statistically significant beyond the .05 level, favoring the work release group. Subdividing property into "medium" and "low" B.E. score groups yields chi square comparisons of 0.916 and 3.026 respectively; the latter of which fell between the .10 and .05 levels. The differences between the medium and low groups were not statistically significant. There were no property offenders in the "high"

TABLE 2: PAROLE OUTCOMES FOR WORK RELEASEES AND NON-WORK RELEASEES, STRATIFIED ON BASE EXPECTANCY SCORE LEVELS

	Parole Outcome						
	Work	Work Releasees			Non-Work Releasees		
Base Expectancy Level	Successes	Failures	Percent Success	Successes	Failures	Percent Success	Chi Square
High, Medium & Low	713	258	73.4	119	66	64.3	4.618
High	203	62	76.6	34	12	73.9	0.043
Medium	346	117	74.7	53	27	66.2	2.101
Low	164	79	67.5	32	27	54.2	2.846
Medium and Low	510	196	72.2	85	54	61.2	6.100*

^{*}Statistically significant.

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TABLE 3: PAROLE OUTCOMES FOR WORK RELEASES AND NONWORK RELEASES, BY TYPE OF OFFENSE, STRATIFIED ON BASE EXPECTANCY SCORE LEVEL

		Parole Outcome							
	Work	Work Releasees			ork Releas	ees			
			Percent			Percent	Chi		
Offense/B.E. Level	Successes	<u>Failures</u>	Success	Successes	Failures	Success	Square		
Person Offenses	168	47	78.1	26	8	76.5	0.000		
High B.E.	93	28	76.9	18	4	81.8	0.055		
Medium B.E.	74	19	79.6	8	4	66.7	0.418		
Low B.E.	1	0	100.0	0	0		-		
Property Offenses	374	156	70.6	71	47	60.2	4.378*		
High B.E.	0	0	-	0	0	-	-		
Medium B.E.	211	77	73.3	39	20	66.1	0.917		
Low B.E.	163	79	67.4	32	27	54.2	3.026		
Other Offenses	138	46	75.0	20	10	66.7	0.546		
High B.E.	90	30	75.0	14	6	70.0	0.039		
Medium B.E.	48	16	75.0	6	4	60.0	0.373		
Low B.E.	0	0		0	. 0	_			

^{*}Statistically significant.

base expectancy score category, because one of the components of the base expectancy score is whether the parolee's present sentence is being served for a property crime. If it is a property crime, the B.E. score was reduced as the property versus nonproperty dichotomy has been determined to be one of the best predictors of parole outcome. The previously-noted difference in parole outcome between experimentals and controls who were in the "medium" or "low" combined base expectancy categories can be attributed to the preponderance of property offenders in these categories. Of the 543 persons in the "medium" category, 347, or 63.9 percent, are property offenders, and all but one of the 302 "lows" are property offenders. Table 3 shows the number of "person," "property," and "other" offenders in each of the base expectancy strata.

Age:

The relationship of age to recidivism usually tends to be an inverse one; i.e., the older the parolee, the less likely he is to be returned to prison. To test the effect of age on the parole outcomes of the work release and control groups, four age categories were determined: less than 25; 25-29; 30-34; and 35 and over. Twenty chi square comparisons were made: one to test the overall relationship, and 19 to test specific, subgroup relationships. None of these tests attained statistical significance. The comparison that most nearly approached statistical significance was the difference between the experimentals and controls in the "less than 25" bracket, which surpassed the .10 level but did not reach the .05 level. This trend, while failing to reach statistical significance, may suggest that work release is somewhat more useful for younger parolees. The parole success/failure comparisons are shown as Table 4.

TABLE 4: PAROLE OUTCOMES FOR WORK RELEASEES AND NONWORK RELEASEES, BY AGE

		Parole Outcomes							
Age	Work	Work Releasees			Non-Work Releasees				
	Successes	Failures	Percent Success	Successes	Failures	Percent Success	Chi Square		
Less than 25	354	139	71.8	73	43	62.9	3.118		
25-29	151	56	72.9	19	10	65.5	0.377		
30-34	86	21	80.4	12	3	80.0	0.098		
35 and Older	127	43	74.7	17	10	63.0	1.091		

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Public Assistance Recipients:

Persons who tend to be economically dependent upon society might be deemed to be those for whom work release participation is potentially most beneficial. To test this assumption, the experimental and control groups were subdivided according to whether or not the person had been receiving a public assistance grant at the time of arrest. For those who had not, work releasees and controls did not differ significantly in parole outcome. For those who had been on public assistance at the time of arrest, however, work releasees were more successful on parole, the 3.841 chi square attaining the .05 level of significance (Table 5). Various comparisons between B.E. strata within the experimental group or between equal strata of the experimental and control groups were made, none of which approached statistical significance.

Alcohol and Drug Abuse:

Another subpopulation that seemed worthwhile investigating for possible significant effects from work release participation was composed of those parolees who had a history of either alcohol or drug abuse. Although work releasees with a history of alcohol abuse had a more successful parole outcome record than similar nonwork releasees, the difference did not reach the .05 level of significance (Table 6).

Of those persons for whom the item regarding history of drug abuse had been reported as "yes" or "no" (922 experimentals, 179 controls) and not as "unknown" or "not reported," the work releasees compiled a significantly better parole success record (chi square of 4.064 significant at the .05 level) than did the controls, the difference being found entirely within the subgroups manifesting a history of drug abuse. Nonwork releasees with

TABLE 5: PAROLE OUTCOMES FOR WORK RELEASEES AND NONWORK RELEASEES,

BASED ON RECEIPT OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE AT TIME OF ARREST, STRATIFIED

ON BASE EXPECTANCY SCORE LEVEL

P.A. Status/B.E. Level S	Parole Outcomes						
	Work Releasees			Non-Work Releasees			
	Successes	Failures	Percent Success	Successes	Failures	Percent Success	Chi Square
On P.A. at Time of Arrest	84	23	78.5	9	8	52.9	3.841*
High B.E.	0	0	_	0	0	-	
Medium B.E.	44	8	84.6	4	3	57.1	1.526
Low B.E.	40	15	72.7	5	5	50.0	1.124
Not on P.A. at Time of Arrest	585	223	72.4	108	53	67.1	1.613
High B.E.	179	59	75.2	31	8	79.5	0.142
Medium B.E.	285	101	73.8	49	23	68.1	0.754
Low B.E.	121	63	65.8	28	22	56.0	1.225

^{*}Statistically significant.

TABLE 6: PAROLE OUTCOMES FOR WORK RELEASEES AND NONWORK RELEASEES,

BY HISTORY OF ALCOHOL ABUSE OR DRUG ABUSE

	Parole Outcomes						
	Work Releasees			Non-Wor			
			Percent			Percent	Chi
Alcohol or Drug Abuse	Successes	<u>Failures</u>	Success	Successes	<u>Failures</u>	Success	Square
History of Alcohol Abuse							
Yes	256	111	69.8	44	31	58.7	3.021
No	416	144	74.3	73	32	69.5	0.800
History of Drug Abuse							
Yes	344	143	70.6	50	39	56.2	6.623*
No	330	105	75.9	67	23	74.4	0.023

^{*}Statistically significant.

a history of drug abuse had a significantly poorer parole success rate than did nonwork releasees without such a history. They also had significantly poorer parole success rates than work releasees with a drug abuse background. The parole success record of this last group did not differ significantly from either nonabuse group. The reliability of the findings regarding drug abuse is somewhat questionable because the recorded information about drug usage may not be fully accurate.

Since work release participation appears to be related to parole success for property offenders and for persons with a history of drug abuse, a separate examination (data not shown) of these two variables was made in order to determine whether these people comprise one subgroup, the significance for which is being double-counted, or if two distinct subgroups have been identified. That two groups have, indeed, been identified is indicated by the fact that 48.1 percent of property offenders have a history of drug abuse, whereas 54.7 percent of nonproperty offenders have such a history.

Race:

Within the work release group, two counter-trends in the relationship of type of offense to a history of drug abuse, for whites and blacks, are evident. For whites, nonproperty offenders were found to be significantly more likely to have a history of drug abuse than property offenders. For blacks, the reverse is true, but the difference is not statistically significant. Table 8 analyzes parole outcome by race, stratified on B.E. scores.

First vs. Repeat Offenders:

Some question might be raised regarding whether work release is equally effective for first-time offenders and reoffenders. As examination of parole success was made on the basis of whether the person was incarcerated for the

TABLE 7: CHI SQUARE TESTS OF DIFFERENCE IN PAROLE OUTCOME FOR WORK RELEASEES AND NONWORK RELEASEES, BY HISTORY OF DRUG ABUSE

Comparison Groups	$\frac{x^2}{}$	D.F.	<u>P</u>
W.R./Drug Hist. vs W.R. w/o Drug Hist.	2.931	1	>.05
Non-W.R. w/Drug Hist. vs Non-W.R. w/o Drug Hist.	5.812	1	<.02*
W.R. w/Drug Hist. vs Non-W.R. w/Drug Hist.	6.623	1	<.02*
W.R. w/o Drug Hist. vs Non-W.R. w/o Drug Hist.	0.023	1	>.80

^{*}Statistically significant.

TABLE 8: PAROLE OUTCOMES FOR WORK RELEASEES AND NONWORK RELEASEES, BY RACE, STRATIFIED ON BASE EXPECTANCY SCORE LEVELS

Parole Outcomes

	Work	Releasees		Non-Worl	k Releasees		
			Percent			Percent	Chi
Race/B.E. Level	Successes	<u>Failures</u>	Success	Successes	<u>Failures</u>	Success	Square
White	552	184	75.0	91	44	67.4	3.021
High B.E.	141	33	81.0	25	4	86.2	0.167
Medium B.E.	271	83	76.6	42	19	68.9	1,275
Low B.E.	140	68	67.3	24	21	53.3	2.585
Black	138	63	68.7	22	16	57.9	1,222
High B.E.	59	26	69,4	. 8	7	53.3	0.852
Medium B.E.	60	32	65.2	10	7	58,8	0.053
Low B.E.	19	5	79.2	4	2	66.7	
Other	24	11	68.6	7	6	53.8	0.370
High B.E.	3	3	50.0	1	1	50,0	
Medium B.E.	15	2	88.2	1	1	50.0	
Low B.E.	6	6	50.0	5	4	55.5	

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first time or was a recommitment (Table 9). The parole behavior of first commitments manifested no significant difference between work releasees and controls; however, a chi square value of 6.111, significant beyond the .02 level, gave strong indication that recommitments perform better on parole subsequent to participation in a work release program (see note bottom of table 9).

Further analysis (data not shown), relating type of commitment of offense category, was conducted. Such analysis gave strong indication that, for the work release group, property offenders are much more likely to be recommitments than are nonproperty offenders (chi square - 26.871, p < .001). For the non-work release group, however, the distributions of first commitments and recommitments among property and nonproperty offenders are nearly identical, yielding a chi square value of only 0.002. It seems to follow from this analysis that the significant relationship between participation in work release and subsequent parole success for recommitments is primarily a reaffirmation of a similar significant relationship for property offenders. The same population appears to have been identified according to two disparate criteria.

To examine this last assertion, parole success/failure was compared for first commitment and recommitment property offenders. This offense group does not manifest a difference (chi square = 0.793, p < .70) in parole outcome by type of commitment.

The superior parole success found for recommitments who have participated in work release, then, does appear to be a function of the number of recommitted property offenders comprise 52.3 percent of the first offenders but 73.6 percent of the recommitments.

TABLE 9: PAROLE OUTCOMES FOR WORK RELEASEES AND NONWORK RELEASEES, BY TYPE OF COMMITMENT

		Parole Outcomes							
Type of Commitment	Work	Work Releasees			Non-Work Releasees				
	Successes	Failures	Percent Success	Successes	Failures	Percent Success	Chi Square		
First	506	180	73.8	70	16	81.4	1.966		
Recommitment	128	65	66.3	44	44	50.0	6.111*		

*Statistically significant.

Other chi square computations:

W.R. First Commitments vs W.R. Recommitments - $x^2 = 3.785$

Non-W.R. First Commitments vs Non-W.R. Recommitments - X² = 17.612*

Note: Further analysis of the data presented here shows that while 78.0% of the work release populations were first commitments, only 49.4% of the nonwork release group were first commitments. Since first commitments generally have better parole success rates than recommitments the work release population might be expected to have better overall success rates inspite of the fact that the two groups were closely matched on base expectancy scores.

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Work Release and Parole:

Work release is a situation that somewhat resembles parole in that both the work releasee and the parolees have "supervised freedom." The essential difference, however, is that the work releasee lives in an institution or special facility so that his freedom is much more restricted than is that of the parolee.

Considering the similarity between the two situations, it might be reasonable to expect that successful completion of a work release program successes, work release program failures, and the control group of nonwork releasees. "Successful completion" of work release is definded as follows: 1) resident paroled directly from the work release program; 2) resident returned to an institution upon completion of his/her work or training plan; or 3) resident returned to an institution for reasons beyond his/her control (e.g., lost job due to production lay-off; protective custody; lack of funds to continue training). Program failure were, for the most part, persons who escaped, committed a crime, or in some other way failed to adjust to the work release situation (e.g., alcohol or drug usuage or technical violations). First, the work release failures were compared with the controls with a resultant chi square of 0.389 (see Table 10) indicating no difference in parole outcome behavior. When the work release successes and failures were compared, it was found that the difference in successful parole outcomes between the success group and the failure group was highly significant (thi square = 15.74, p < .001), with those who successfully completed work release having a much higher rate of success on parole. The work release success compiled a parole success rare of 76.0 percent, whereas only 60.3 percent of the work release failures were successful on parole. When stratified on the basis of base-

TABLE 10: COMPARISON OF PAROLE OUTCOMES FOR WORK
RELEASE PROGRAM SUCCESSES, WORK RELEASE PROGRAM
FAILURES AND NONWORK RELEASEES

	Parole Outcomes					
	Successes	<u>Failures</u>	Success			
W.R. Successes	619	196	76.0			
W.R. Failures	94	61	60.6			
Non-Work Releasees	120	66	64.5			

Chi square comparisons:

W.R. Successes vs W.R. Failures; $\chi^2 = 15.736*$

W.R. Successes vs Non-W.R.; $x^2 = 9.664*$

W.R. Failures vs Non-W.R.; $X^2 = 0.455$

^{*}Statistically significant.

expectancy scores, the parole outcome differences within each stratum were not so great as that for the total groups. The "high" and "medium" base-expectancy strata produced chi squares of 5.985 and 5.735 respectively, both of which were statistically significant beyond the .02 level. For the "low" stratum, the chi square value was 2.632, which lacks statistical significance. A final comparison was made for the work release successes and the nonwork releasees. This comparison produced a chi square value of 9.664, which is significant beyond the .01 level.

Work vs. Training Release:

Although the more generic term "work release" has been used throughout this report to denote either a work program or a training program, it is often valuable to analyze the two types of programs separately. Such analysis was part of the Interim Report of this study. For the purposes of the present evaluation, the two types of programs were separated to determine whether there was any statistically significant difference in the parole outcomes of work releasees and training releasees. Since there was not $(X^2=2.270,\ p>.10)$, as shown in Table 11, work releasees and training releasees are being considered as one group. Such consideration seems further justified by the fact that there is considerable amount of switching between programs, and some releasees are on both programs simultaneously.

Variation Among Work Release Facilities:

Among the various outside work release facilities, there was considerable variation in parole success rates of ex-participants, generally favoring the smaller facilities. Too few persons graduated from these small facilities, however, to provide a meaningful statistical comparision. Parole success rates, by facility, are shown in Table 12.

TABLE 11: COMPARISON OF PAROLE OUTCOMES BETWEEN WORK RELEASEES AND TRAINING RELEASEES

	Parole		Percent	
	Success	Failure	<u>Total</u>	Success
Work Release	454	182	636	71.4
Training Release	258	81	339	76.1
	·			
	712	263	975	73.0

 $x^2 = 2.270$

TABLE 12: PAROLE OUTCOME FOR OUTSIDE WORK RELEASEES, BY FACILITY

Facility	Parole 0 Success	utcome Failure	Percent Success
Everett	19	7	73.1
Hungerford Hotel, Seattle	30	15	66.7
Longview House	20	5	80.0
Western State, Steilacoom	68	42	61.8
Comm-Home Inc., Pasco	15	6	71.4
Pioneer House, Seattle	35	7	83.3
McMahon Hall, UofW, Seattle	26	7	78.8
Spokane County Jail	14	3	82.4
Ronald Hall, Seattle	31	14	68.9
Olympic College, Bremerton	7	0	100.0
Hoquiam City Jail	2	0	100.0
Whatcom County Jail, Bellingham	3	0	100.0
Bishop Lewis House, Seattle	16	11	59.3
Clark County W.R. Unit	2	1	66.7
Marysville City Jail	1	0	100.0
Vancouver City Jail	2	1	66.7
Heath Hall, Seattle	1	0	100.0
Total	292	119	59.2

Education:

The last personal factor that was tested against parole outcome was the highest grade completed in school. Although there is a tendency for parole success rates to be higher for persons who have completed a greater number of grades in school, such trend did not reach statistical significance (see Table 13).

Program Costs:

A comparison was made of the costs of incarcerating an inmate in a state penal institution or supervising him on regular parole, or maintaining him on work release. Table 14 shows the number of work releasees from each institution and the respective daily costs had they remained at the institution. For the 975 work releasees studied, the mean daily per capita cost had they remained at the institution would have been \$19.47 less any room and board paid by the inmate. Daily per capita cost for maintaining these individuals on work release, accounting for room and board paid, was \$11.90. These rates multiplied by the average length of stay of these participants on work release, 129.6 days, times the total number of inmates studied yields a cost of \$1,500,715.30 for work release and \$2,455,146.40 for incarceration. The per capita cost of maintaining a person on parole was \$0.59 in 1973. The cost of supervising these persons would have been \$74,405.21 had the work releasees been released on parole.

Further economic impact is revealed by analyzing the disbursement of the monies earned by the work release participants. Of the 975 persons involved in the program, 636 were on work release and 339 took part in training release. Work releasees holding salaried employment during fiscal 1972 and 1973 earned an estimated total of \$650,753 (see Table 15). After paying \$27,362

TABLE 13: PAROLE OUTCOMES FOR WORK RELEASEES AND NONWORK RELEASEES, BY HIGHEST GRADE COMPLETED

	Parole Outcomes							
Highest Grade Completed	Work R	eleasees <u>l</u> /		Non-Work				
	Successes	Failures	Percent Success	Successes	Failures	Percent Success	Chi Square	
0~8	106	39	73.1	21	14	60.0	1.742	
9-11	282	117	70.7	62	34	64.6	1.083	
12	227	74	75.4	27	12	69.2	$0.198\frac{3}{}$	
>12	52	17	75.4	5	1	83.3	-	

 $[\]frac{1}{A}$ chi square value of 1.542 (N.S.) resulted from testing grade level against parole success for the work release group.

 $[\]frac{2}{A}$ chi square value of 1.425 (N.S.) resulted from testing grade level against parole success for the non-work release group.

 $[\]frac{3}{2}$ Combines 12 and >12 categories.

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TABLE 14: COST COMPARISON OF WORK RELEASE,
INCARCERATION AND PAROLE

Institution	No. of Inmates on Work Release 72-73	Daily per Capita Costs	Daily Costs if Participants at Institution
Washington State Penitentiary	249	\$13.52	\$3,366
Washington State Reformatory	316	17.10	5,403
Washington State Reception and Correction Centers	269	18.13	4,876
Purdy Treatment Center for Women	126	40.67	5,124
Larch Mountain Honor Camp	4	12.04	48
Clearwater Honor Camp	9	13.66	122
	N=973	X =\$19.47/day	Σ=\$18,942/day

Mean length of stay = 129.61 days

Mean cost WR = \$11.90/day*

Mean cost parole = \$.59/day

Work release - $$11.90/\text{day} \times 973 \times 129 \text{ days} = $1,500,715}$ Incarceration- $$19.47/\text{day} \times 973 \times 129 \text{ days} = 2,455,146}$ Parole - $$59/\text{day} \times 973 \times 129 \text{ days} = 74,405}$

*Per capita cost of \$11.90 per day supplied by work release program administration.

TABLE 15: ACTUAL AND ESTIMATED EARNINGS OF AND SELECTED DISBURSEMENTS FROM THE EARNINGS OF WORK RELEASEES

		Name of	Average Cont		
	Actual Totals	Number Of Releasees Contributing	Per Contributing Work Releasee	For All Re- leasees With Earnings	Estimated Totals2
Earnings	\$529 , 929	5181/	\$1,023	\$1,023	\$650,628
Withholding Tax	22,282	161	138	43	27,348
O.A.S.I.	8,296	160	52	16	10,176
Room & Board	184,336	435	424	356	226,416
Family Support	44,581	87	512	86	54,696
Restitution	3,639	9	404	7	4,452
Savings	71,349	339	210	138	87,768

1/ Of the 636 persons on a work program, data for only 518 were available.

^{2/} Estimated by multiplying the pro-rated contributions (column 4) by 636, the total number of releasees with jobs. The assumption inherent in this estimation is that the earnings and disbursements for persons not reported are similar to those reported.

withholding tax, \$10,187 OASI, and other deductions, the work release participants paid \$226,365 room and board, \$54,745 family support, and \$4,469 restitution. Also, the work releasees were able to save a total of \$87,617, which was kept in their personal accounts until they were either paroled or discharged.

DISCUSSION

Before elaborating on the results of the present investigation, it is appropriate to consider just what evaluating the work release program means. Work release is not just one program; it is many, with many elements in common. For example, most work situations require employees to be on the job during specified hours and to be responsible for completing certain tasks; training programs usually require considerable study and class participation.

Of greater importance to the individual work releasee than these general program similarities are the unique characteristics of his own program. The teacher or the employer may exert more of an impact on the releasee than does the particular course or job, and these supervisory personnel vary (in person and/or relationship) from one work releasee to another. If such relationships are important in the rehabilitation effort, then these unique, unknown variables have unmeasured effects on work release performance.

In evaluating work release, it is important to bear in mind essential program features. For example, Washington's program makes use of the furlough law which makes it possible for individuals to leave the program for brief periods under conditions that are similar to parole. This provides staff with opportunities to observe how residents react to noninstitutional conditions before full release which is seen as a desirable feature in providing gradual reintegration into the community. Minimum supervision, at the same time, provides opportunity to fail, so that some of the failures as well as successes might be attributed more to the furlough policies within the work release program than to other program features. In other words, success or failure related to work release may be due to meaningful interpersonal relationships, utilization of furloughs, or other variables which must be considered

as important characteristics of the total work release environment.

Another difficulty with the analysis, inherent in the use of recidivism as a success criterion, is what Elmer H. Johnson (1968) calls the "erosion of treatment effect." The gist of this is that the effect of treatment diminishes with the lapse of time. Parolees are not released into a vacuum; each is subject to numerous influences. Their recency, frequency, and intensity may be more of a determinant of their day-to-day behavior than participation in a work release program at an earlier point in time. In its evaluation of Pennsylvania's Community Treatment Services Program, Informatics, Inc. (1972), elaborates this point:

The responsibility for the change in behavior in individuals cannot be totally assigned to the Bureau of Corrections.

Environment and life style affect individuals that are committed to the Bureau of Corrections and the return of these residents to that same environment may still have more of an impact than the time served and the program in which the residents participated during their stay within the Bureau. Some state departments of correction in other areas of the United States have felt that the responsibility for the residents' performance upon leaving the institution should be limited. The State of Minnesota, for example, feels that it cannot affect the behavior of its ex-residents any longer than a period of two years. Some officials in corrections would doubtless consider this an extended limit.

For the present study, in which the minimum follow-up period is twenty-four months, erosion of treatment may have run its course.

Results of a study such as the present one must be viewed with some caution. But, since recidivism rates have been the most generally accepted

criterion of success, the results obtained by using such measures deserve consideration as representing, at least to some degree, the actual effectiveness of correctional programs.

For the offender population included in this study, work releasees as a group tend to be somewhat more successful on parole than comparable nonwork releasees. Although many of the comparisons which make up this trend favoring the work release group are not statistically significant, the trend is consistently positive and may suggest significant relationships for specific subgroups of the offender population. Indeed, analyses relevant to various criteria do reveal some marked relationships.

Perhaps the most noteworthy of these relationships is the positive correlation between work release participation and subsequent parole success for property offenders. Relationships such as this one, demonstrating positive effects of work release participation for at least some offenders, lend credence to the assertion that work release can achieve its intended results.

Work release helps provide an incarcerated felon with a job or with training to secure a job so that the likelihood of his successful re-entry into society is increased. This is not to assume that vocational circumstances are necessarily the most important determinant of parole success for all prisoners. For some, vocational adjustment has not been a problem.

Overall, however, prisoners are generally considered less successful vocationally than are most nonprisoners with stable job histories, the exception rather than the rule in offender populations.

It might be assumed that persons convicted of property-related offenses would be more in need of acquiring a satisfactory job or vocational skills, and, therefore, more likely to benefit from a program such as work release

than persons convicted of crimes not related to property. This assumption seems to be supported by the finding that the parole success rate was considerably greater for those property offenders who successfully completed a work release program than for the nonwork release property offenders, whereas no similar discrepancy was found for nonproperty offenders. Gowdey (1974) found similar results in her thesis, covering 1969-1972.

Although such data were not available for this study, an analysis relating job desirability factors to parole outcome might be productive. For example, are the jobs held by successful parolees more remunerative and more highly skilled than those held by unsuccessful parolees? Do ex-work release parolees tend to obtain and hold better jobs than parolees who did not participate in work release? Some studies have asserted that the kind of job held while on work release appears to be a substantial factor in eventual parole outcome. The contention is that a person who has an "undesirable" work release job tends to get locked into that kind of employment after release, a situation that may prove counterproductive to the purposes of the work release program. This needs further study.

Analysis is also needed to determine the relationship between work release employment and employment subsequent to parole. Do work releases keep the same job after parole, or are most work release jobs dumped soon after parole? Does the work release job or training program have a positive effect, negative effect, or no effect upon subsequent employment? Answers to questions such as these should produce a more valid evaluation than recidivism rates alone.

Some further indication of the direct importance to parole success of having a job, and, therefore of the indirect influence of work release participation, may be inferred from the superior subsequent parole success

record found for those work release participants who had been on public assistance at the time of their arrest. Persons on public assistance would seem an appropriate target for a program such as work release.

Another, apparently unrelated, group of offenders that seems to benefit demonstrably from work release is persons with a history of drug abuse.

Reasons for this finding are not clear, but the information helps to identify subpopulations which may be most likely to benefit from work release programs.

Having identified two distinct subpopulations that appear to derive particular benefit from participation in work release, we should now examine one question asked about work release in general: "Is work release behavior a good predictor of parole success?" According to the results of this study, successful completion of work release is a good predictor of a successful parole outcome. Such predictive value obtains for both "inside" work release (residing in an institution) and "outside" work release (residing in a separate community work release facility). Table 16 gives these comparisons. The predictive value of outside work release appears somewhat greater, which result might be expected from the freer, more parole-like situation of outside work release. The length of time on work release does not appear to be a strong factor. However, persons on work release form four to six months did somewhat better than persons for either shorter or longer periods of time. The finding that the type of program (i.e., work or training) did not matter in regard to parole success deserves further analysis.

On the other hand, the parole outcome behavior of those who fail on work release is very comparable to the control group of nonwork releasees, which would argue against any detrimental effects of work release participation upon the releasees themselves. Work release appears to be positive for certain kinds of offenders and neutral for others, but not negative for any identifiable segment. Who, then should be placed in work release?

TABLE 16: COMPARISON OF WORK RELEASE SUCCESS/FAILURE WITH PAROLE SUCCESS/FAILURE
FOR INSIDE AND OUTSIDE WORK RELEASEES

		Inside Worl	k Releas	e	Outside Work Release				
Work Release	Parole			Percent	Parole			Percent	
Program	Success	Failure	Total	Success	Success	<u>Failure</u>	<u>Total</u>	Success	
Success	185	68	253	73.1	211	61	272	77.6	
Failure	37	26	63	58.7	40	25	65	61.5	
Total	222	94	316	70.3	251	86	337	74.5	

 $x^2 = 4.335$ (Significant)

$$x^2 = 6.279$$
 (Significant)

A thoughtful review of the literature pertaining to work release tends to support the assertion that nearly all prisoners who are going to be paroled or discharged should be placed on work release into the community. Such assertion is not difficult to justify regarding the influence of work release on the participants themselves: it might help; it won't do any harm; or it might save some money. It does provide an opportunity for closer surveillance during the transition period.

At the same time, it is contrary to the policy of many states, including Washington, to make all residents eligible for a half-way program. Lawrence Root (1973) lists the following kinds of background (with the number of state employing each restriction) as bases for exclusion from work release participation in these states: violence (20), sexual crimes (18), narcotics sale (16), narcotics use (12), notoriety (12), and organized crime (10). He listed violence and notoriety as criteria for exclusion from the Washington State program. Root asserts that the exclusion of these offenders is counter-productive, primarily because these same people will soon be released anyway.

The results of the present study do not provide justification for recommending work release participation beyond the sub-groups of property offenders and persons with a history of drug abuse; however, the potential transitional values of work release to inmates in general should not be discounted. Although such benefits might not be reflected in recidivism rates, the "quality" of many parolees' lives may be improved by work release participation. For example, work release might prepare many releasees to secure better jobs than they might have had otherwise. With a counselor available to each releasee, he should be better able to find suitable housing and to

be put in contact with relevant community resources of which he might otherwise remain unaware. In instances of marital conflict, the releasee and spouse might be better able to adjust to each other gradually than if they were suddenly together all the time. It seems reasonable to assume that the tension involved in the change from institutional life to the "free" life would be considerably reduced in a counseled, transitional situation.

As long as the timing of work release placement is appropriate (e.g., within a few months of the prisoner's tentative or certain release date), it would seem that the public welfare is more enhanced than endangered by such placement. The work releasee is much more closely supervised than is the parolee, so that illicit acts are more likely to be detected. This increased supervision occurs at a time when the likelihood of return to criminal behavior is greatest; i.e., within the first few months after release from an institution.

Although this report focuses on work release in isolation from other programs, it may be that while work release is for some persons a necessary (or contributing) condition for success, it is not by itself sufficient. Its effectiveness might be increased, for example, when coupled with other community-based treatment programs, such as speech therapy or family counseling.

Financial data for work releasees were not collected in a standardized manner for fiscal years 1972 and 1973. Also, it appears that some of the collected data have been lost, presumably when the central location for this information was transferred. For these reasons, the financial data reported in this study is not used here as a basis for justifying work release over typical incarceration by cost effectiveness, although work release does appear to ease the tax burden to some extent. At the very least, one might argue that work release costs no more than institutional incarceration and justify work release on treatment, humanitarian, and public protection grounds.

APPENDIX A

Base expectancy, definition B, 12 months

To obtain base expectancy score:

ADD:

.715	For all persons	.715
.109	For parolees that were married and/or had at least one dependent at time of commitment	
	Sub-total (.715 or .824)	
	SUBTRACT:	
	From Sub-total subtract:	
.178	If the crime for which the present sentence is being served was a property offense	
.179	If the parolee has difficulty with alcohol and/or if alcohol was in-volved in the crime	
.062	If the parolee was committed to an institution as a juvenile	
.052	Times the number of technical viola- tions during the last period of community supervision	

Definition B:

Success: parolee was discharged from parole or continued on parole with no report of any kind of violation.

Failure: parolee was continued on parole with at least one type of violation report, absconded, and/or returned to prison.

Base expectancy score



DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL AND HEALTH SERVICES

WORK OR TRAINING RELEASE PROGRAM SUMMARY REPORT

1. NAME (LAST)	(FIRST)	(MIDDLE)	2. SER!AL NUMBER
3. SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER		APPLIED YR. MO. DAY 6	DATE APPROVED YR. MG. DAY FOR PROGRAM
7. TYPE OF PROGRAM VOCATIONAL	ACADEMIC ON-THE-		11001/1111
1. JOB 2. TRAINING	3. TRAINING 4. TRAINING		
8. DATE PROGRAM STARTED YA. MO. DAY LO	OCATION CITY COUN	ORGANIZATI' 1	10. CODE
11 ACTIVITY 12. HOURS AWAY FROM HOUSING FACILITY	13, HOURS 14. DAYS OF SPENT IN WEEK IF PROGRAM		HOUR DAY WEET
16. TOTAL EARNINGS 17. TOTAL W H TAX	18. TOTAL O.A.S.I. 19. TOTAL O	<u>` </u>	1 21. TOTAL FAMILY : : : :
22. TOTAL RESTITUTION 23. TOTAL SAVINGS	24. TOTAL OTHER EXPENSE 25. HOUSING	FACILITY	SUPPORT 26, CODE
Z7. YR. MO. DAY	1. OAC	TUTION 2. JAIL 3. JAIL	4. SPECIFY SPECIFY
ZT. DATE PROGRAM TERMINATED	REASON	S FOR TERMINATION:	
28. SUCCE	SSFULLY COMPLETED PROGRAM	(REFERS TO TRAINING RELEASE	ONLY)
29. RELEA	SED ON PAROLE		
30. LAID-0	OFF DUE TO TERMINATION OF W.C	RK BY EMPLOYER	
☐ 31. ESCAP	PED		
32. LACKE	D APTITUDE FOR THIS ASSIGNME	ENT	
33. EARNI	NGS WERE NOT SUFFICIENT FOR	EXPENSES	
34. DRINK	ING		
35. DRUGS	5		
36. OTHER	R LAW VIOLATIONS. PROSEC	JTED? 37.1. YES	2. NO
38. FAILE	D TO ADJUST TO WORK RELEASE	ENVIRONMENT	
☐39. OTHER	R, SPECIFY		- pa
40. WILL RESIDENT BE EMPLOYED AT SAME	JOB WHEN PAROLED? DOES NOT APPLY		
COMMENTS (OPTIONAL)			
<u> </u>			
FORM		FORM	
COMPLETED BY:		COMPLETION DATE:	

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